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North Viet Nam

On July 8, 1969, Thanh Hoa and Vinh Phu provinces shot down 2 pilotless planes, bringing the total of U.S. aircraft grounded in North Viet Nam since August 5, 1964 to :

3,304

South Viet Nam

BALANCE-SHEET OF FIRST HALF OF 1969

PLAF STEPPED UP ATTACKS, CONSTANTLY STRENGTHENING POSITION AND INCREASING SUCCESSES

⊙ 330,000 enemy casualties (145,000 GIs and foreign mercenaries)

⊙ 90 battalions or similar units, 10 armoured squadrons and 554 companies wiped out or badly mauled

⊙ 3,950 aircraft downed, destroyed or damaged, 10,500 military vehicles (6,000 tanks and armoured cars), 1,690 ordnance pieces destroyed, 1,150 vessels and combat launches sunk or set ablaze, 650 ammo and fuel depots burnt

(PLAF Command Communique)

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Fifteen Years After the Signing of the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam

FIFTEEN years ago, following the Dien Bien Phu victory, the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam were signed in spite of all U.S. attempted sabotage of the historic Conference.

EVERYONE knows the stand officially proclaimed by the then US leaders with regard to those Agreements. President Eisenhower declared on July 21, 1954, one day after their signing: "The United states has not itself been party to, or bound by the decisions taken by the Conference". Everyone knows also what the authorities in Washington have been since doing to fit their deeds with their words: installation of Ngo Dinh Diem at the head of a puppet government in Saigon, gradual transformation of South Viet Nam — now dubbed "the Republic of Viet Nam" — into a new-type colony and military base of the United States. They however ran their heads against the resistance of the South Vietnamese people: neither "traditional" methods of neo-colonialism, that is the supplying of "aid" and "advisors", nor "special warfare" waged by a puppet army equipped, trained and directed by the Pentagon, nor "limited warfare" conducted by half a million American troops armed to the teeth succeeded in breaking the grim determination of 14 million South Vietnamese to live as free men.

The United States was thus compelled to resort to a political settlement. Following in Mr. Johnson's footsteps, Mr Nixon declared: "We have ruled out attempting to impose a purely military solution on the battlefield" (May 14 speech). And just like Mr. Johnson, he claimed respect for the Geneva Agreements. However, since the U.S. leopard cannot change its neo-colonialist spots, the political settlement the U.S. is seeking is but a subterfuge to get at the conference table what it has failed to obtain in the battlefield. Consequently in advocating a "return to the Geneva Agreements", it has providently wrenched their meaning to turn them into a tool for its aggressive policy.

To the U.S. imperialists the Geneva Agreements mean essentially the partition of Viet Nam into two different countries, and when they pay lip service to a possibility of national reunification on the basis of free consent by both zones, one must understand that such reunification would never come to pass, since how could a South Viet Nam under U.S. control — as the Americans want it to be — accept to join a socialist North Viet Nam?

It is therefore not strange to see the Washington envoys to the Paris Conference proceeding from such an interpretation of the Geneva Agreements and insisting for several sessions on end that the "restoration of the DMZ to its original status" be put as the first point on the agenda. Obviously they were trying by that way to consolidate what Ngo Dinh Diem would call a U.S. extended frontier.

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Plain of Reeds guerillas
Water colour by HUYNH PHUONG DONG

Supplement :

Memorandum on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam

25th Plenary Session of Paris Conference on Viet Nam (July 10, 1969)

NIXON ADMINISTRATION'S BAD FAITH EXPOSED BY Mr. XUAN THUY

At the 25th session of the Paris Conference, DRVN representative Xuan Thuy refuted US assertions on so-called "manifestations of good will" of the United States. He said that neither the limitation of North Viet Nam bombing since March 31, 1968, nor its total and unconditional cessation since November 1, 1968 could be considered "manifestations of good will" since they represented only successive setbacks sustained by Washington in performance of a completely illegal act. Moreover, since Nov. 1, 1968 the U.S. has never ceased sending its aircraft on spying missions over North Viet Nam and even on bombing sorties on many populated areas there. Neither has it stopped shelling the Northern part of the DMZ with artillery positioned South of the DMZ.

Mr. Xuan Thuy then bared the true nature of so-called "concrete proposals" advanced by the United States. Those "concrete proposals", he said, aimed only at limiting the Vietnamese people's exercise of their legitimate right to self-defence while allowing the U.S. imperialists freely to intensify their war of aggression. The June 8 Midway communiqué and the Nixon decision to withdraw from South Viet Nam 25,000 U.S. troops could hardly conceal U.S. intentions to hold on to its neo-colonialist policy while trying to soothe public opinion. As regards Nguyen Van Thieu's "6-point program" which arrogantly urged that NFL members lay down their weapons and surrender to the puppet administration, this program has been flatly rejected by the DRVN and the NFL. Nguyen Van Thieu's "private talks" offer was but a move to cover U.S war intensification in South Viet Nam and distract public attention from the US-puppets' blocking of the progress of the Paris Conference.

The DRVN envoy concluded: "The quadripartite conference on Viet Nam is marking time because the Nixon administration, far from being willing to peacefully settle the Viet Nam problem, is following Mr. Johnson's beaten track. It must be held fully responsible for this before world and U.S. opinion. As far as the DRVN Government is concerned, right from the beginning it suggested Paris as negotiation site, and it was its good will that made it possible to get DRVN-USA bilateral talks started as early as on May 13, 1968. It was also thanks to its good faith in matters of procedure for the quadripartite Conference that this Conference could open on Jan 25, 1969. Were it not for the dilatory tactics of the U.S. and the Saigon administration, it could even have begun earlier, on Nov 6, 1968. At the Conference, the DRVN has more than once expounded its 4-point stand, and the NFL on May 8 put forward its famous 10-point overall solution which has been endorsed by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the RSVN".

PRG representative, Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, also concurred with Mr. Xuan Thuy in exposing the bad faith of the U.S. and its warlike intention as revealed by various war escalations in South Viet Nam. She declared that her government was disposed to discuss the problem of withdrawing U.S. and satellite troops from South Viet Nam, which withdrawal should be done without any condition attached. Her government, she said, was also prepared to enter into consultation with all South Vietnamese political forces that stand for peace, independence and neutrality with a view to setting up a provisional coalition government to be entrusted with organizing free and democratic general elections throughout South Viet Nam. Her government, she concluded, was ready to come to terms with the other parties concerned and sign, on the basis of the NFL 10 points, accords to restore peace to South Viet Nam.

Reminiscences and analogies

THE USA, GENEVA 1954 AND PARIS 1969

DO XUAN SANG

As the American administration is so fond of "returning"—in its own way—to the 1954 Geneva Agreements, it is not irrelevant to recall the rather inglorious role played by the Americans at the 9-party Conference which was held at Geneva from May 8 to July 21, 1954.

Though not officially a belligerent, the USA defrayed the bulk of costs: U.S. financial aid to France for the Indochina war amounted to 314 million dollars in the 1952-1953 fiscal year and to more than a billion dollars in 1953-1954, which represented roughly four-fifths of all the expenditures of that war. He who pays the piper calls the tune. This was illustrated by Henri Navarre who, in his memoirs oddly entitled "The Agony of Indochina", deplored the inopportune intervention of the American bosses in the conduct of the Indochina colonial war as from 1951. It is common knowledge that the MAAG was set up in Saigon at the end of 1950 to supervise the French High Command.

The Geneva Conference — undesirable for John Foster Dulles — opened on May 8, 1954, that is one day after Dien Bien Phu, which was above all an American defeat as it foiled the scheme nurtured by the State Department and the Pentagon to internationalize the war.

At Geneva, however, U.S. imperialism did not own itself beaten. As in Paris now, it sought by means of base manoeuvres and juridical quibbles to obtain at the conference table what it could not achieve in the battlefield. There was a kind of distribution of work as there is today: the pro-U.S. French delegation headed by Georges Bidault confined itself to military problems, leaving to the Bao Dai delegation the political problem. Against the clear-cut and logical claim of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam: Peace, Independence, Unity, Democracy, the puppets argued that the Geneva Agreements had been granted by France to Bao Dai and that everything would be settled if everyone recognized Bao Dai as the very embodiment of Viet Nam. Consequently the national army of Viet Nam would be Bao Dai's army; general elections would be held only when Bao Dai's authority has been acknowledged by the UN Security Council all over the territory of Viet Nam; the government born of these elections would be formed under the aegis of Bao Dai, etc...

Such incredibly preposterous proposals enjoyed the

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FIFTEEN YEARS...

(Continued from page 1)

THE DRVN Government, on its part, has always strictly implemented the Geneva Agreements as a whole. It scrupulously observed the provisions on the cessation of hostilities, and placed under the administrative management of the other side wide areas South of the 17th parallel which had been under its control during the resistance war. To reunify the country, it has been insistently demanding that the provisions on consultation and nation-wide free general elections in July 1956 been forced. It has made many proposals for the re-establishment of normal relations on all fields between the two zones pending Viet Nam's reunification.

The DRVN Government has been enduringly struggling against violations of the Geneva Agreements by the United States and the Saigon puppet administration and insisting that they correctly implement them. On April 8, 1965, after the United States had expanded the war to the whole of Viet Nam, the DRVN Government voiced the unshakable will of the entire Vietnamese people to fight against U.S. aggression, and at the same time put forward its four points as basis for a Viet Nam settlement.

The offer is consistent with the gist of the Geneva Agreements which is to assert and guarantee the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights—independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. It is called for by the practical situation now obtaining in Viet Nam and fully meets the eager aspirations of the South Vietnamese people.

May 8, 1969 saw the proclamation of a new document of paramount importance: the ten points of "principles and main content of the overall solution put forward by the NFL to the South Viet Nam problem to help restore peace in Viet Nam". This plan received total support from the DRVN Government.

Drawing its inspiration visibly from the fundamental principles of the 1954 General Agreements, it stipulated right at its first point "respect for the fundamental rights of the Vietnamese people as recognized by (those) Agreements". On the basis of these principles, it provided an ingenious solution to a series of concrete problems which focused world public attention. Making a clear distinction between the aggressor and the victim defending himself against aggression, it classified the issues into two categories: on the one hand, those ones to be settled between the Vietnamese people and the U.S. aggressors; and on the other, the ones to be resolved among the Vietnamese themselves.

The withdrawal of U.S. troops — which is at present high up on the agenda in Paris — belongs to the first series of questions: since the United States has committed its troops in an aggression against Viet Nam, it is up to it to withdraw them completely and without laying down any condition. As for the problem of Vietnamese armed forces in South Viet Nam, it falls into the second class and should therefore be solved by the Vietnamese themselves. As a result, the American-advanced "mutual troop withdrawal" thesis clashes with all principles governing a sound Viet Nam settlement consonant with the Geneva Agreements and international law; it must be entirely rejected.

The South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination — another item on the agenda at the Paris Conference — also comes within the second category of problems, and no foreign — American, in this case — intervention is permissible. The United States which professes "no intention of imposing any form of government upon the people of South Viet Nam" actually only wants to impose upon the 14 million South Vietnamese a gang of traitors, warlike and rotten to the core, on whom it puts a "legal and constitutional government" face. In contrast with US bluntness, the NFL has suggested the sole sensible answer to this thorny problem: it urges the formation of a provisional coalition government resulting from negotiations between various South Vietnamese political forces that stand for peace, independence and neutrality, which government will be entrusted with the delicate task of organizing free and democratic general elections throughout South Viet Nam.

On June 8, 1969, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam was established. The first point of its Program of Action stressed that it had endorsed the NFL ten points as basis for the struggle for a fair political solution to the South Viet Nam problem with a view to "restoring peace and achieving the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights as recognised by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam".

Those who have at heart the respect for the 1954 Accords can but welcome with gratification this new development in the Vietnamese people's struggle for the implementation of their essential principles, because the establishment of the PRG in South Viet Nam means that our South Vietnamese compatriots now have an organ of State power, genuine and legal, and internationally recognized as such, to lead them and to represent them in the final stage of the fight for national liberation.

Fifteen long years have passed since the signing of the Geneva Agreements which endorsed the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, fifteen years of hard, bloody but heroic struggle of our people against violations of those sacred rights by the US imperialists.

What rejoices us—and certainly all freedom- and justice-loving people—is that this 15th anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Agreements brings us nearer than ever to ultimate victory of our people over the forces of oppression, injustice and barbarity. For, as President Ho Chi Minh has said, the defeat of the Yankee aggressors is already a foregone conclusion.

Lively Manifestation of North-South Solidarity

Promoting the traditional militant solidarity of the Vietnamese people as a whole in their millenary history of resistance to foreign aggression coupled with national construction, and coordinating with the struggle of their compatriots in the South, the North Vietnamese people have been since 1954, unremittingly militating for the implementation of the Geneva Agreements, for the reestablishment of normal relations between North and South, the freedom of correspondence between the two zones, a consultative conference for free general elections and against the victimization of ex-Resistance members. Immediately after the powerful action of millions of North Vietnamese for the punishment of the criminals who had poisoned in 1959 6,000 people detained in Phu Loi prison (over 1,000 of them fatally), the inhabitants of Nam Ha province made it a point to assist Bien Hoa (a South Viet Nam province) in its struggle against famine caused by the enemy. After that, within a short period of time all provinces and towns in the North solemnly swore brotherhood with their counterparts in the South.

Parallel with the existing patriotic emulation movement, the North-South sworn brotherhood movement has kept the emulation spirit in effervescence. People in various localities have been keenly following the situation in their respective brother provinces. They share weal and woe and give one another multifarious encouragement and support in their effort to win victory. Through the emulation period, many new strains, economic and cultural works, bearing the names of sworn-brother provinces have made their appearance: "South Viet Nam high-yield rice-fields", "My Tho pigs", "Ap Bac chicken", of Nam Dinh-produced "Tan An irrigation canal" of Hung Yen province, "Gia Dinh tree-covered hills" of Hoa Binh province, "Hanoi-Hue Saigon highway", "Soc Trang three-lined roads", "Darlac" kindergarten", and many other industrial goods turned out overtime on "fighting-for-national-reunification" Saturdays initiated by the Gia Lam railway workshops.

Responding to the appeal made by President Ho Chi Minh at the Special Political Conference in 1963 calling on our people to "redouble their efforts" for the sake of our kindred South, a sworn-brotherhood emulation movement was stepped up. First it concentrated on a concrete work done within a short period of time. Then it spread to every branch and every locality in the North, such as the manure-preparation movement of Son La women to "avenge their counterparts in the Western High Plateaux" and the farming and fruit tree-planting movement in Nam Dinh province called "Ap Bac Winter-Spring production campaign". In these drives, Nguyen Van Troi and Nguyen Van Be, South Viet Nam heroes, were posthumously admitted in many production teams as honorary members whose work was taken up by other teammates, thereby boosting production. In each family there were such jobs as fish-rearing, pig and poultry-breeding, tree-planting, all done overtime by women, children and oldagers according to their ability, for the sake of the South. Even attention was paid to curtailing family budgets to save for the South: In the 1964 Tet festival, the inhabitants of Son Tay province managed to put aside 125 tons of pork. It can be said that this movement animated with North-South warm affection has reached each family member under most variegated practical forms.

Since the beginning of the U.S. escalation into the North, this North-South sworn brotherhood movement, together with other emulation drives, has developed into an emulation high tide to mobilize our people and co-ordinate our actions with the frontline. This movement spreads far and wide with the slogans "Everything for our kindred South", "Everything to defeat the American aggressors," "The North responds to the call of the South"...

Following the examples of the South Viet Nam Liberation fighters, the armed forces in the North launched the "good training and good fighting" and "hit home with the first shot" movement, which enabled to rapidly raise the number of Americans planes downed in the North successively to 2,000, 2,500 and 3,000. In the short-term emulation drive to welcome the 2nd Congress of South Viet Nam Heroes and Emulation Fighters, 23 American planes were grounded on October 24, 25 and 26, 1967 alone. In the "goods for the South" campaign, thousands of shock youth of the Transport and Communications Department have distinguished themselves by keeping traffic going under any circumstances. Highly efficient workers have emerged in the "Tay Ninh" and "Khe Sanh" emulation drives of industrial enterprises. In the "600,000 additional tons of coal for the South" there appeared the "Dien Ngoc" mining team which fulfilled the 1968 plan 83 days ahead of schedule. Celebrating the founding anniversary of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation (December 20, 1960) the weaving branch exceeded the 1968 target by 10 million metres of textile which have been laid by as a gift to the South Vietnamese people. Agriculture has witnessed the appearance of thousands of "Quang Nam" good tillers' teams and "Thai Thi Kieu" good transplanters' teams (named after a woman martyr in the South) who have transformed North Viet Nam ricefields into "5-ton", "7-ton" and "10-ton" fields. Similar achievements have been recorded in the cultural branch and other servicing branches.

Up to now, over 3,300 American aircraft have been knocked out of North Viet Nam skies; economic and cultural construction has been progressing. All this is due to the conjugated efforts of 17 million North Vietnamese in the great rear, encouraged by 14 million of their Southern kith-and-kin. Together with the resounding successes won in the South, this is also a manifestation of the broad national unity and substantiates the inescapable truism that rivers may run dry, mountains may wear flat, but the fact that "Viet Nam is one" remains unalterable.

(*) *My Tho, Ap Bac, Tan An, Gia Dinh, Hue, Saigon Soc Trang, Darlac are localities in South Viet Nam.*

News in Brief

● Eleven enterprises of the electrical engineering industry in Hanoi have overfulfilled the plan of the first half of 1969. Compared with the corresponding period of last year, the total output value of this industry exceeded the target by 5.5 per cent.

● 13 firms in Haiphong dealing with chemicals, timber, soap, lacquer, rattan, foodstuffs, have surpassed the norms of the first six months of 1969 with a total output value increasing by 29 per cent over the corresponding period of last year.

● The growing of the Summer-Autumn crop is in full swing in the North. Nam Ha province is contemplating to give each hectare 7 tons of fertilizers before transplanting. Bac Thai province have built 108 new manure-processing sheds. Thanh Hoa province raises the seed-sown area from 5 to 10 per cent in prevision of eventual floods and typhoons. From June 28 to July 3, 2,000 hectares of riverbeds were transplanted in Hai Hung province.

● The fishing co-operatives in Ninh Linh area (near the 17th parallel) have got through 75 per cent of the 1969 plan and their production was sold to the State with a 10-20 per cent increase.

● Commemorating the 15th anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Agreements (July 20), three new films have been screened far and wide in North Viet Nam. They are "The People's Congress to Set Up the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam", produced by Liberation Film Studios and "Warm Welcome" to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam" and "The Frontline in the Bosom of the Rear" shot by Viet Nam Newsreel and Documentary Film Studios.

The Hanoi Young Singers Club

ALTHOUGH it rained heavily, club members streamed in on the stroke. After attending a lecture on general theory, they broke into small groups to practise vocalizing under the guidance of teachers. From a neighbouring room came the fervent voice of a tenor. Dien, the club, manager shut the door and told me:

"They show a lot of zeal in training. That explains why our club has been able to get along pretty well in the last two years in spite of numerous difficulties".

This became all the clearer to me as I met and talked with many members of the Young Singers Club organized by the Hanoi Committee of the Viet Nam Labour Youth Union. Some came direct from their factories or offices in their work clothes. Others went to their night shifts immediately after the singing drill at the club... They were workers, office employees, engineers, teachers, hospital attendants, university students, etc... They all had more or less nice voices, and displayed an ardent love for singing. Many of them had won gold or silver medals at various popular art festivals in the capital city.

Every Wednesday and Sunday evening, they come to the club to improve their skill. Here they attend a basic vocal music course under teachers from the Viet Nam Symphonic and Choral Music, Opera and Ballet Theatre. They listen to lectures on music and the way to compose a song, learn new songs and exchange experiences.

I talked with Huong, a very young woman weaver at the "March 8" Textile Mill, and she told me about the club:

"I like singing very much and took part in many popular song festivals and even won some prizes. But my voice was an uncultured one because I never had the opportunity to get any training:

"It is no longer so now after two years schooling here, isn't it?" I said.

Huong did not answer, blushing.

"She has been a very active member of the club", the head of Huong's workshop put in, "but she shows no less eagerness in the cultural and artistic activities in our workshop. She now sings much better than she did and she readily complies with any request for a song, at any time and in any place. More important still, Huong is not only an enthusiastic singer but also a very conscientious worker. She has been chosen as frontrank worker for many consecutive years now and is held dear by everyone of her mates".

Along with raising the theoretical standard of its members in vocal music, the club also attaches importance to helping them compose songs. This provides an opportunity for the club members to apply the theory and techniques they have learnt.

To welcome the Spring victories of the South Viet Nam Liberation Forces and people, a special program of songs has been prepared in Hanoi recently. The public gave rousing ovations to the youthful voices overbrimming with optimism of members of the Hanoi Young Singers Club. But the main goal of the club still remains how to train these singers into "activists" of the cultural and artistic activities at the factories and administrative offices.

On this score, the club manager said to me:

"In the past years of the resistance to U.S. aggression, the mass singing movement, especially among the youth, has made substantial progress but is still limited in scope and the standard of the performances still leaves much to desire. One of the reasons is that we are short of "activists" to promote the movement at the basic level. The organising of this club of singers has helped us make the initial steps to overcome this shortcoming. Many industrial establishments and public offices sent their young workers and cadres to our club to be trained into such "activists". Back in their places of work, these have been very active and have helped the young men and women at the factories, schools and administrative organs, improve their voices and their singing technique. This, in its turn, has given a new impetus to the singing movement that is drawing ever increasing numbers of youth".

PLAF Command Communiqué on Balance-Sheet of First Half of 1969

Editors' note: GPA *has just released a communiqué of the PLAF Command on the South Viet Nam Liberation Armed Forces and People's sweeping successes in the first half of 1969. We give below some excerpts of this communiqué:*

SWEEPING AND ALL-SIDED SUCCESSES

In the past 6 months, defying the enemy's perfidy and extreme savagery, the South Viet Nam armed forces and people have braved innumerable difficulties and sacrifices and, in the full flush of their victory, have inflicted punishing blows on the enemy.

Attacks and uprisings took place virtually in all cities, provincial capitals and district towns across South Viet Nam.

Nearly all the 100 and more U.S., puppet and satellite H.Q.'s, from regiment, brigade and division HQ's to fields commands and the US Army H.Q. came under attack.

Some 50 important airfields and more than 100 major logistic compounds were targets of devastating assaults.

All the most seasoned U.S., puppet and satellite units were badly mauled. Many regiments and divisions were decimated, including the 25th Infantry Division, the *Americal* Division, the First Air Cavalry Division, the 101st Airborne Division, the First Marine Division and the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment of the U.S. forces, and the 2nd, 18th and 22nd Infantry Divisions and the Paratroops Division of the puppet army.

Many regiments and brigades lost their combat strength or were knocked out, such as the U.S. 196th and 198th Light Infantry Brigades, the 3rd Brigade of the U.S. 101st Airborne Division, the 3rd Brigade of the U.S. 25th Infantry Division, Regiments 43, 48 and 52 of puppet Division 18, the puppet 2nd Joint Ranger Force and the 42nd Regiment of the 3rd Brigade, puppet Paratroop Division, etc... Many units of foreign mercenaries, especially the Thai *Black Panther* Division, suffered heavy losses.

Many land and water ways vital for the enemy were put under constant PLAF pressure, and many important convoys intercepted, causing great logistic troubles to the adversary.

In the political field, revolutionary power has been fast growing despite the war. At present, almost all districts and provinces and most villages in South Viet Nam have got their people's revolutionary committees. In particular, the first half of this year was marked by an event of historic significance: the holding of the congress of People's Representatives and the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, which constituted a brilliant achievement of the South Viet Nam revolution. A genuinely democratic regime has been established, and has been outshining the rule of the puppet Thieu-Ky-Huong clique of traitors to the nation.

On the diplomatic front, the 10-point overall solution advanced by the South Viet Nam NFL has been warmly acclaimed by all strata of the people and approved by world and American public opinion. Soon after its formation, the PRG of the RSVN was recognised by 23 countries of Asia, Europe, Africa and Latin America.

GREAT SIGNIFICANCE OF OUR SUCCESSES

Firstly, the South Viet Nam armed forces and people have raised the offensive strategy of revolutionary war to a new high and their position has enabled them to mount most powerful, most extensive, and most comprehensive attacks. That was the most striking feature of the first half of this year.

Secondly, in the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves, our armed forces and people have brought about a change, more advantageous to us than ever before. This again indicates the vast and unlimited possibilities of people's war, of revolutionary war, and further illustrates the law of the inevitable development of the war in the new stage our capacity of fighting heavy and long battles, our growing strength in the process of the war and the magnitude of our successes keeping pace with the violence of our blows, and this is likely to be the trend until our complete victory.

Thirdly, under the powerful all-sided attacks of the South Viet Nam armed forces and people in this 6-month period, the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, in application of their strategic plan had to beat again a serious retreat, which further weakened their position and strength and undermined their aggressive will. This spells out that the prolongation of the war will only bring upon them more bitter setbacks and in the end a more ignominious debacle.

Recently, Abrams's "clear-and-hold" strategy received a new staggering blow and was more critically upset right at a moment when Pentagonian chiefs were bragging about an improvement of their defence plan. Though the enemy forces are still numerically strong and their fire-power and mobility remain great, they have landed in an extremely passive and negative strategic position, which has made it impossible for them to "clear" in order to ease the PLAF and people's stranglehold and pressure on their redoubts.

The U.S scheme to "de-Americanize" or "Vietnamize" the war finds itself in dire straits. Though their fire-power and mobility has been increased, the puppet troops continue to take sound beatings in all battlefields. This has further aggravated their troop shortage and their disorganization, lowered their morale, raised their desertion rate and rendered them wholly incapable of taking over the fighting which the GI's can no longer do themselves. The decision the U.S. has been forced to make, to pull out 25,000 GI's, was merely a bluff designed to appease the American and world public. At the same time, it constituted a step backward taken in a state of passivity and from a position of weakness, an indication of a new, serious setback of the U.S. imperialists.

Compelled to draw off their troops and "Vietnamize" the war, the U.S. aggressors have implicitly acknowledged the bankruptcy of their local war strategy in South Viet Nam.

The plan for the pacification of rural areas aimed at winning the people and gaining territory, a plan which the American bosses and their valets have been vying with one another in carrying out with excessively atrocious and perfidious methods, can no longer progress in the face of the impetuous attacks and uprisings of the South Viet Nam armed forces and people.

With the massive use of bombs, shells, toxic chemicals and many other psy-war methods, the U.S. aggressors and their stooges hope to weaken our resolve to fight for national salvation, but fire and steel can in no way bend the unyielding will of a people who prefer death to enslavement. That is why, far from being able to realize his minimum pacification programme, the enemy instead has been duly punished by the Vietnamese people.

The puppet administration, from top to bottom, has become more and more rotten. It has been torn by ever more bitter inner strife, has exposed itself still further as a stooge of the U.S., and thereby has become more isolated and more despised by the people who have set their minds on its overthrow.

Though they have tried hard to clamp a tight lid on their setbacks, the U.S imperialists have failed to cover up their new military reverses. These have given a fresh impulse to the American people's war protest, exasperated anti-war feeling in the U.S. armed forces, thereby causing new and great difficulties to the U.S. rulers and aggravating their predicament.

Fourthly, the great successes obtained in all fields in the first half of this year have strengthened the confidence of the people and their PLAF in the ultimate victory of their struggle against U.S. aggression and, consequently, stiffened their determination to fight until complete triumph. They have also raised our prestige and position at home and abroad, widened the rifts within the enemy ranks, won over to the revolutionary cause many people from all walks of life and earned ever greater sympathy and stronger support from the people and governments of many countries in the world, and from the American people as well; in short, they considerably boost our strength and improve our position.

RESOLUTION on Celebrations of 1970 Important Anniversaries

In consideration of Party members and the whole people's concern about the important anniversaries falling in 1970—a great commemorative year—namely the 40th founding anniversary of the Viet Nam Workers' Party (Feb. 3), Lenin's birth centenary (April 22), President Ho Chi Minh's 80th birthday (May 19) and the 25th founding anniversary of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (Sept. 2), the Political Bureau of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee has issued a resolution on ideological and organizational work to be carried out in the coming days.

The resolution instructs that Party organizations at all levels should implement the following:

1. To raise the cadres and Party members' knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, of the Party's line and policies of President Ho Chi Minh's virtues and style of work, to increase in them the realization of the necessity to square the principles of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the Viet Nam revolution; to strengthen their absolute loyalty to these tenets; to foster and strongly develop their revolutionary spirit and creativeness; to provide them with more political and theoretical weapons so as to give them full ability in leadership and organization, thus serving best the socialist construction in the North and the liberation revolution in the South and at the same time efficaciously checking the influence of modern revisionism, dogmatism, sectarianism...

2. To enhance the enthusiasm and confidence of the cadres, Party members and people to heighten their genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism, and on this basis, to launch a high tide emulation movement in production and combat, translate the spirit of the four great anniversaries into practical deeds, endeavour to build socialism in the North and completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen, defending the North, liberating the South, achieving the peaceful reunification of the country; promoting and successfully carrying out the campaigns now underway on instructions from the Party's Central Committee.

3. On the occasion of the four great anniversaries, to consolidate the Party and broaden its ranks, build up real "Four Good" Party branches and Party organizations; to consolidate the national united front and improve the mass organizations affiliated to the front; to strengthen and consolidate the people's democratic power.

Plans have been worked out by combat and production units to translate into deeds those important directives of the Party's Political Bureau.

U.S. PUPPET CRIMES AGAINST RELIGIOUS BELIEVERS IN SOUTH VIET NAM from Feb. 1968 to May 1969

A summary report of crimes committed against South Viet Nam religious believers by the U.S. aggressors and their puppets between Feb. 1968 and May 1969 was given in a recent communiqué dated June 25 released by the Committee to Denounce War Crimes of the U.S. Imperialists and their henchmen in South Viet Nam:

DEMOLITION OF PAGODAS, SHRINES, CHURCHES AND MURDERS OF BELIEVERS OF VARIOUS RELIGIONS

In Hue, in only ten days from Feb. 10 to 20, 1968 hundreds of tons of bombs were dropped and destroyed Tu Dam, Bao Quoc, Trang Van and other pagodas. On Feb. 2, 1968, U.S.-puppet planes of various types violently bombed and strafed An Quang pagoda, a big Buddhist temple in Saigon, where a large number of Buddhists had taken shelter.

In August, November and December 1968, U.S.-puppet artillery and aircraft, including B.52s, continuously rained bombs and shells on meeting places of Cao Dai sect believers at their Holy See in Tay Ninh, killing and wounding almost 500 people and burning thousands of dwellings. At Hang Van and Cong Hoa alone, over 700 houses were set afire, nearly one thousand Caodaists were arrested, victimized and taken away as cannon-fodder.

On Feb. 3, at Ben Tre town, U.S. bombs destroyed many houses and temples at the Ban Chinh quarter, killing and wounding more than 300 Cao Dai believers, rendering 10,000 people homeless.

At Ca Mau, in 9 successive days, from Aug. 29 to Sept. 7, enemy planes and cannons in continual attacks seriously damaged 19 Cao Dai temples, 11 Buddhist pagodas and 6 Catholic churches, taking a toll of many killed and wounded. The Tan Loc church was hit by 200 shells and was completely blotted out.

At Tra Vinh, the enemy savagely attacked 27 big churches of the province, 19 of them from 2 to 6 times. The My Se pagoda was completely razed to the ground, 65 monks, nuns and Buddhist believers who were inside the pagoda were killed or wounded.

At An Giang, from February to May 1968, as a result of bombings and shellings coupled with repeated "sweeps", nearly 6,000 casualties of Khmer and Cham nationalities were recorded. On May 6, 7 and 8, 1968, in hundreds of sorties U.S. choppers and jets poured napalm, explosive and steel-pellet bombs and fired rockets on the vicinity of Chau Doc town where Catholics, Cao Daists and Hoa Hao sect believers were concentrated. 800 people were killed or wounded. The enemy then proceeded to a "sweep" levelling the believers' houses with cannons, tanks and bulldozers to build posts on their emplacement.

At Quang Nam, in three months (July, August and Sept. 1968) U.S. bombs and shells completely wiped out or seriously damaged 72 pagodas in the province.

In August 1968, Tam Thai and Lien Hung pagodas in the Marble Mountain, two cultural vestiges of Quang Nam province, were occupied by the GI's who after manhandling the monks and nuns, drove them out of the temples to set up barracks.

Since January 1969 and especially since Nixon's inauguration and calling for a "maximum military pressure" to be applied in the battlefields, U.S. - puppet crimes against religious believers in South Viet Nam have been redoubled. On Jan 15, 1969, U.S. "Air Cav" men murdered with bayonets and toxic gas, 24 Catholics at the same time in Hiep Hoa parish at My Thanh Dong (Duc Hue district, Long An province).

On Feb. 23, U.S. planes and artillery dropped bombs and shells in Kong H'ring (Kontum) concentration camp, massacring 350 Catholics of Xe Dang stock at one time.

On Feb 26, the U.S. puppets razed Tam Hiep village, inhabited by Catholics, in enemy-controlled areas, killing and wounding one hundred people. Thousands of survivors were rendered homeless. On May 22, in a concerted action with the artillery, U.S. jets at 7 times raided Thien Lam pagoda at Vinh Trung village, An Giang province, burning all religious buildings and taking a heavy toll of killed and wounded.

NEW EFFORTS TO SUPPRESS THE RELIGIOUS BELIEVERS' ASPIRATIONS FOR INDEPENDENCE AND PEACE

On Christmas night 1968, important police forces, both American and puppet, cracked down upon a peace torchlight procession staged by the youth, students, intellectuals, catholic priests and believers in Saigon. Over 200 people were arrested and put to the torture. The same night in Long Khanh town, the U.S.-puppet pounded the Gia Kiem church, killing and wounding 103 Catholics.

On Feb 23, 24 and 25, 1968, U.S. jets, choppers and armoured cars bombed rocketed and shelled the districts of Tan Chau, Chau Phu and An Phu, in An Giang province, during the Hoa Hao sect believers' celebration of the Lunar New Year. More than 400 houses were destroyed and more than 50 casualties were counted.

On Feb. 23, 1969, the Thieu-Ky-Huong clique arrested Buddhist Superior Thich Thien Minh, deputy-director of the Saigon Buddhist Institute, and 50 Buddhist students. On March 15 and 17, the U.S-puppet Military Tribunal sentenced Tnich Thien Minh to ten years' hard labour and five years' emprisonment, and 8 Buddhist students to 3—20 years' hard labour. The U.S-puppets searched the seat of the Association of Young Buddhists at Quang Duc and closed down the *Chanh Dao* newspaper, organ of the Association.

Pham Vi Long, secretary general of the Association of Buddhist Youth at An Quang pagoda, was arrested in early May 1969. To date, thousands of believers of different religions are still detained in jails for resistance against U.S. aggression, for peace and national independence.

On March 12, 1966, U.S. planes destroyed the church of Sung Nhan village (Hoai Duc district, Binh Thuan province)

Nghi Duc village (Binh Thuan Province) pagoda after a U.S. bombing raid

Will be published:
VIETNAMESE STUDIES No. 21
(Traditional Viet Nam: some historical stages)
The Vietnamese people's origins, the great pre-colonial periods, the political, economic, military institutions, the cultural life of tradition Vietnam — such are the questions treated in this issue of Vietnamese Studies.
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Disquiet American Soldiers

IN the financial year ended June 30, 1968, the number of American deserters reached 58,357, as against 42,227 in the previous one. That of less than 30-day-A.W.O.L.S. in the American armed forces was respectively 155,539 and 134,668. These alarming figures, below the realities, were given in last March by the Senate Armed Services Committee. They tell how seriously dissent has grown into protest and rebellion in the American army whose disturbances reveal only an aspect of the American people's increasing anger.

CONSCIENCE AND COMMON SENSE

ALONG with objections in the very Establishment, opposition to the war of aggression in Viet Nam triggered off a mass action which has continuously lasted for more than four years, reinforced by new contingents from all communities. Since the new Chief Executive took over Johnson's war and sabotaging of the Paris talks, the campaign has been marked by a new upsurge. Recent facts testify to it. Over the last Easter weekend, anti-war marches and demonstrations took place in New York, Washington, San Francisco, Chicago, Atlanta, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Honolulu..., some fifty cities throughout the country. In New York, under the noses of over 1,000 policemen, the demonstrators including 200 active-duty GI's listened to a recorded speech of Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, then deputy-head of the NFL Delegation to the Paris Conference. In a public statement, they declared that Americans in all towns would go on taking to the streets for an end to the war if Nixon did not make peace in Viet Nam as promised. Most of the protesters were under thirty. Youths who supply cannon-fodder for the South Viet Nam theatre have been waging a fierce struggle for their lives and legitimate interests.

It is against this social background that we must diagnose the evil that has affected U.S. armed forces. Time is working against Washington's propaganda. Guided by his common sense, the ordinary GI can realize that facts are giving the lie to slogans. This has been proved by Rear Admiral Arnold True U.S.N. (Ret.) in a penetrating analysis carried by *Veterans Stars and Stripes for Peace* (March – April 1968). The paper has eloquently been confirmed by events:

"We are most frequently told that our objective in Viet Nam is *'self determination'* for the Vietnamese people. A careful reading of the 1954 Geneva Accords indicates that they offered exactly that (...) That election (to re-unify the country-Editor) was never held because Ngo Dinh Diem, who has been installed as Premier by the United States, refused to hold them (...) Generals hold power by virtue of U.S. tanks, aircraft, and troops (...)

"It is said that our *national honor* is at stake (...) The President is indeed right that our national honor is at stake because things are being done in Viet Nam that are dishonorable and inconsistent with the meaning of American history (...)

"It is a simple case," it is claimed, "*of aggression by North Viet Nam* against a neighbouring country. But there is no historical foundation for the statement that North and South Viet Nam are two countries."

No argument whatsoever put forward by the White House, including high-faluting" defence of the free world", "prevention of a bigger war" and "anti-communist crusade" slogans, can hold water before the awakening of conscience of the American nation, especially of American servicemen.

EX-GI's AND GI's AT HOME

SOUTH Viet Nam Veteran Sergeant Donald Duncan a former Green Beret, toured the State and attended international conferences to tell the truth about the war: "It was a big lie. Those who protest against the war in Viet Nam are not against our boys in Viet Nam. They are rather against the fact that our boys are in Viet Nam. They are opposed to the fact that people in the USA and elsewhere are dying for a lie "(re-translated from the French.) Such organizations as "Vets for Peace in Viet Nam", "Vets and Reservists for an End to the Viet Nam war", the "Committee of Veterans to put an End to the Viet Nam War"... have appeared and taken part in popular demonstrations. In a joint statement, 4 flag officers (ret.), Rear Admiral Arnold E. True, Rear Admiral Robert C. Huston, General W. Ford and General Shoup, have raised an indignant protest against the display of strength in South Viet Nam that "may well bankrupt our nation financially, tarnish our moral image before the world and deprive Americans of many dollars so sorely needed for social improvement programs." The position of the Vets was admirably summed up by D. Kleinberg in San Francisco: "They cannot say that we don't know what it's about... that we're cowards. We went there and we saw what it is and we say that it's wrong."

GI's on active duty have also publicly showed opposition. Last year, New York veterans announced: "Up to now we ex-GI's have led off the peace marches. This time we'll be proudly lining up behind the active duty GI's". Thus the first GI peace march against the Viet Nam war was staged on October 12, 1968 in the city of San Francisco. Said one of its organizers: "This is the first time in this nation's, and perhaps,any nation's history that during war soldiers gathered together in an organized and democratic fashion to protest their own country's commitments and conducts". The demonstration was a success in spite of government obstacles and threats against two of its leaders: Lt. Hugh F. Smith and Airman M.R. Locks. Orders were issued to transfer H.F. Smith to Taiwan. Sentenced to one year's hard labour for marching in uniform in the peace parade, Locks stated: "I'm proud to wear my uniform for peace". Navy Nurse Lt. Susan Schnall achieved a unique exploit by dropping from a plane 20,000 leaflets over an aircraft carrier, calling upon servicemen to participate in a peace march.

American militarymen do not content themselves with marches and demonstrations. Open rebellion was touched off by the "Fort Hood Three" who, refusing to go to Viet Nam, declared on June 30, 1968 in a New York press conference:

"We are James Johnson, David Samas and Dennis More, the soldiers formerly stationed at Fort Hood in the same company of the 142nd Signal Battalion, 2nd Armoured Division.

"We represent a cross section of American youths. We speak as American soldiers:

"... It was time for us to quit talking and decide: go to Viet Nam and ignore the truth or stand and fight for what we know is right. We will not be part of this unjust, immoral and illegal war".

While draftees burn their cards as David Miller did, (1,000 draft dodgers are now serving prison sentences) or flee the country (50,000 in Canada and in Sweden), other GI opponents of the war tread in the steps of the Fort Hood Three. At the end of 1967, Captain Dr. Howard Levy was sentenced to three years' hard labour for

(Continued page 7)

U.S. Vets against Viet Nam war

American Committee for Solidarity with Viet Nam Set Up

THE "American Committee for Solidarity with the Vietnamese People" was recently founded at a conference in San Francisco of representatives of U.S. progressive organizations, such as the Women Strike for Peace, anti-war GI's groups and anti-draft students groups, and many progressive personalities, reports from the United States said.

The six executive members of the Committee included Fred Chards, President, and Mme Margaret Driggs, Secretary.

The Committee will establish close relations with North and South Viet Nam Committees for Solidarity with the American people. It will work for the strengthening of the friendship between the peoples of Viet Nam and the United States, for the ending of the U.S. aggressive war in Viet Nam by the U.S. Administration, U.S. respect of the Vietnamese people's independence and freedom, and repatriation of all U.S. troops at the earliest date without any condition.

Immediately after its founding, the Committee distributed leaflets informing the American people of the South Viet Nam Congress of People's Representatives and the setting up of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. It also published the summary of the 12-point Program of Action of the RSVN Provisional Revolutionary Government.

IRAQ RECOGNIZES PRG

ON July 7, 1969 the government of the Iraqi Republic announced its recognition of the PRG of the South Viet Nam Republic.

Iraqi Foreign Minister Abdul Kerim El Sheikhly made it clear that the decision was in line with his government's policy of supporting the nations' liberation struggle.

Disquiet American Soldiers

(Continued from page 6)

having refused to train South Viet Nam-bound Special Forces. Captain Dale Noyd, airman, who was condemned to one year's hard labour for having objected to drilling pilots for the Viet Nam battlefield, stated before the tribunal that he was ready to fight for his country, but he protested against the Viet Nam war for it was a war of aggression, an illegal war.

Up to mid-1968, about one hundred GI's garrisoned at Fort Lewis (State of Washington), base of the 18th Infantry Division, deserted in protest against the war in Viet Nam. On November 23, 1968, 1,500 GI's in Honolulu signed a joint resolution against their transfer to South Viet Nam. In a church in San Francisco, 9 Viet Nam war deserters tied themselves to one another with the same chains. The M.P. needed a whole day to separate them.

The case of Henry Mills, a Negro soldier at Fort Dix sentenced to sixty days in the stockade for refusing to go to Viet Nam, was not the only one. As Black GI Dink Mc Carther put it, the Black soldier "unlike his white counterpart, has twice the problem of conscience; his Monsters come by twos. He must not only rationalize his willingness to perpetrate a wrong act upon the Vietnamese, but his willingness to do so for the same people, the same racists who have wronged him and who he feels will continue to wrong him... The fantastic conflict within himself may lead to that extreme act of protest-desertion"

THE "BOYS" ABROAD AND IN SOUTH VIET NAM

NUMEROUS U.S. servicemen have deserted their units abroad. They live in some thirty countries, in Mexico, England, Switzerland, Canada, Holland, France, Sweden, in the socialist countries of East Europe... According to the London *Times* there are about 1,000 in Europe, 300 deserters have taken refuge in Canada, 200 in Sweden where William Jones set up the "Committee of American Deserters" in a district South of Stockholm. A marine of New York thinks that "Viet Nam works like a machine producing GI deserters".

Protest is growing with desperately soaring death tolls. With U.S. casualties exceeding the Korean war cost, the Viet Nam war ranks fourth among the most deadly wars in the history of the United States. Official U.S. statistics reveal that over 10,000 young Americans have died on the battlefields of Viet Nam since the start of peace talks in Paris. This tragic and nagging reminder has certainly exerted an impact on the fighting GI the more so as the latter has been able to realize on the spot that "Viet Nam has won the war" (Carl Strock, a Viet Nam returnee). 600 GI's of the famous Big Red One disobeyed marching orders. An insurgent lieutenant shot dead a captain then took his own life (February 1968). 3,000 GI's in the U.S. base at Dong Du, 30 Km. northwest of Saigon, mutinied under the slogan: "Immediate Repatriation" (December 27, 1968). A few days later, GI's of the 1st and 2nd Battalions, 9th ID, did the same. Soldiers of a company of Brigade 2, 9th ID, stationed at Son Phu, lay on the road, refusing to take part in a "sweep" (March 1969). At Binh Duc, 2 platoons and 300 GI's of the 9th ID set afire an M.113. Such collective rebellions erupted in spite of the harshest repression.

THE world peoples including progressive American people sympathetically follow the awakening of conscience of the American militarymen and heartily support their struggle. Benjamin Spock, the outstanding American pediatrician and peace fighter, wrote: "The young men who refuse to fight in this war need a legal and moral support". They deserve it for they and all "disquiet Americans" opposing the war of aggression in Viet Nam effectively serve their country: "One day it will be generally recognized that they are, by their opposition, affirming for all the world to see what is best and most humane in the American tradition." (Felix Greene-Viet Nam! Viet Nam!)

Hanoi Press Opinion

Rockefeller's Latin American Tour or Fiasco of the "Alliance for Progress"

WHILE the U.S. is bogged down in Viet Nam, a question has arisen for its rulers: how to stem the peoples' revolutionary offensive and preserve the U.S. huge interests in Latin America, a direct rear for U.S. imperialism?

With this end in view, U.S. President Nixon sent on a Latin American fact-finding mission his special envoy, New York Governor Rockefeller, who is a big capitalist with vested interests in Latin America and former Assistant Secretary of State in charge of the Latin American affairs. Rockefeller's trip was an indication of the U.S. monopoly capitalists' and ruling circles' great concern in this part of the world.

However, Rockefeller's fact-finding mission was an ignominious tour and a bitter failure. He was prevented from going to many countries as expected, simply because he had not been invited or because the local administrations dared not invite him. As for the ones he visited, the tour was kept secret and Rockefeller was surrounded by a tight security screen. Strong anti-U.S. feeling has surged up in all places where Rockefeller landed or planned to come. He had to face with a real storm of opposition and each track of his was stained with the blood of workers, students, and other people ruthlessly suppressed. He could not soothe but only embittered the people's hatred for the U.S. imperialists.

The powerful growth of the anti-U.S. movement in Latin American forcefully spells the doom of the "Alliance for Progress". Not only do the broad labouring masses in Latin American regard this "Alliance" as a hoax, but also progressive intellectuals do not fall prey to this U.S. brand of reformism. Today, workers, peasants, students, progressive intellectuals and other sections of Latin American peoples are pushing ahead their struggle in various forms, including the armed fight against the US and the dictatorial local puppet administrations. Finally, U.S. imperialism has revealed its real nature and openly resorted to its "big stick policy".

The basic U.S. policy in Latin American remains a policy of aggression. Ten years ago, following the victory of the Cuban revolution which blazed the trail for the whole continent, the U.S. had to change its tactics toward it and set up the so-called "Alliance for Progress". Nowadays, the Nixon administration has to cope with enormous difficulties. It is planning to reduce U.S. "aid" which causes great alarm among the local ruling circles.

As for the Latin American peoples, they certainly know what they should do and will no doubt step up their offensive against the U.S. and foil every new manoeuvre of the Nixon administration.

NHAN DAN (*The People*)
July 6, 1969

The USA, Geneva 1954 and Paris 1969

(Continued from page 2)

enthusiastic backing of Bedell Smith who undoubtedly dreamed of implanting U.S. neo-colonialism in the whole of Viet Nam by the agency of a puppet government.

This midsummer night's dream recently occurred again to R. Nixon who, starting from an imaginary position of strength, ordered his protege Nguyen Van Thieu to propose "private talks" with the NFL on the basis of dissolution of the Front or of the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces would be able to participate in his individual capacity in the "national community", and on the March 18, 1967 anti-democratic, anti-national Constitution of the Saigon regime.

With fifteen years behind it, American imperialism has not changed either in its nature or in its ambitions.

Unfortunately, neither law nor facts were on the side of the Americans and their puppets.

In the eyes of the law, the Bao Dai regime had no legal basis, not even the endorsement of its French creators. The 1949 Elysee Accords, which Pham Dang Lam was impudent enough to recall at the 8th plenary session of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam, granted Bao Dai only an "independence" without any military and diplomatic powers. Only three weeks after Dien Bien Phu did the French government decide to transfer those powers by means of a so-called "Buu Loc-Laniel Agreement". This instrument initiated on June 4, 1954 was not even signed; let alone ratified, at the date of July 20, 1954. So much so that the French delegate could on that day sign in all legal conscience the Agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Viet Nam, and committed validly Bao Dai's administration.

In fact, the Bao Dai regime was worth nothing. Everyone knows the harsh but judicious appraisals by many foreign observers on that score. For instance, French M.P. Christian Fouchet termed Bao Dai's state a "state of marionnettes, puppets, a caricature, a facade". The American aggressors may take the same views about their "Republic of Viet Nam" the origin of which they have been trying to trace precisely to the ill-famed Bao Dai regime.

Geneva finally saw in 1954 the utter failure of the American interventionists. The agreements signed on July 20 and 21 settled both military and political problems on the basis of recognition of Viet Nam's fundamental national rights. Bedell Smith had to make a special statement at the closing session to take note of the signed agreements and of the final declaration submitted for approval and approved by the participants in the conference.

In adopting in Paris a neo-colonialist position which was already condemned, the Nixon administration shows the whole length of their lack of realism and their political short-sightedness. There is no doubt the American imperialists, whether Republican or Democrat, never knew how to draw lessons from history.

High Plateaux girl guerilla
Water colour by **Huynh Phuong Dong**

MILITARY OPERATIONS

— North and East of Saigon: 750 GIs and Thai troops put out of action, 156 military vehicles destroyed.

— Southeast of Da Nang: 330 enemy troops and nearly 2 U.S. platoons wiped out, 30 military vehicles set afire.

— The enemy admits: two 5,000-ton cargo ships sent to the bottom near Saigon and 47 jets and choppers downed in a fortnight.

FROM June 22 to July 3, 1969 fierce battles took place in the areas north and northeast of Saigon. Intercepting two convoys of vehicles on Road 14, north of Saigon, on June 23 and 24, the PLAF put out of action 75 tanks and armoured cars and many enemy troops (an American company was completely written off).

On June 22, attacking an armoured car park of a battalion of U.S Infantry Division 1 at Bau No rubber plantation, 48 km northwest of Saigon, the PLAF burnt 14 vehicles, shot down 3 choppers.

On June 24 they assaulted the vehicle park of Thai troops at So Tieu, 30 km southeast of Saigon, wiping out 250 Thai soldiers, 48 vehicles and 5 106.7 mm howitzers.

On July 3, they shelled Dau Tieng U.S. base, 64 km northwest of Saigon: many tent barracks, the gun emplacements and part of the airfield were blasted, 106 GIs killed, 8 aircraft, 9 military vehicles and 5 heavy guns destroyed.

Previously, on June 21, they had pounded Go Vap logistic base, 5km north of Saigon, blowing up a depot storing 50 tons of ammunition, chemicals and other war materials.

In the above-mentioned actions and in some others, the PLAF in the periphery of Saigon put out of action a total of 750 enemy soldiers (mostly GIs and Thai troops) wrecked 156 military vehicles, sank 5 war vessels and combat launches, grounded or destroyed 14 aircraft, 10 cannons and 106.7mm mortars.

76 Km southwest of Saigon, on June 28, regional troops at Cai Lay intercepted a company of security troops and a "pacification" team, inflicting 105 casualties.

In the engagements on June 20 and 25 at Cai Tho town, the patriotic forces burnt 22 military vehicles, killed or wounded 30 policemen and M.Ps.

On the night of June 24 in the two bombardments of Ca Na military sector, 100 Km east-northeast of Saigon, almost all dwelling houses and trenches of the enemy were destroyed and 42 casualties recorded. On June 27 and 30, regional troops of Hoa Da district, 206 Km east-northeast of Saigon, killed 70 adverse troops and set on fire 15 military vehicles in a clash with an enemy convoy.

On June 22, South of Da Nang, intercepted by regional troops, an enemy column moving on Road No 1 near Tam Ky town, 63 Km south of Da Nang, lost 50 men 5 military vehicles and 2 choppers.

On June 23 and 26, in three raids, regional troops of Binh Son district, south of Da Nang, wrote off the muster roll 170 adverse soldiers and wrecked 10 military vehicles.

In the Western Highlands, the PLAF attacked an American column 16 km northwest of Pleiku, wiping out a platoon and two groups and grounding a chopper.

South of the DMZ, in an encounter with a unit of the 4th puppet Regiment, 8 Km southeast of Huong Hoa district, the PLAF killed 50 men and knocked down 4 aircraft (including 3 jets). On July 5, AFP reported from Saigon that the U.S. Command had admitted a loss of 47 jets and choppers from June 17 to July 1, 1969, bringing the total of American planes downed or destroyed in South Viet Nam since 1961 to 5,584.

The enemy also revealed that on July 6, 1969, Gia Dinh PLAF, north of Saigon, had sent to the bottom of the Saigon river a 5,000-ton cargo ship of the Chiang Kai-shek clique loaded with military goods.

South Viet Nam In Brief

● 24,000 Vietnamese workers and employees of the American firm RMK – BRJ were threatened with the sack, reported the Saigon press. In fact this company was about to dismiss 1,500 of them every month under the pretext of the closing of contruction sites. The workers were all the more incensed as on June 13, a local newspaper revealed that the firm was engaging new workers for other construction yards to be opened soon. Employees and overseers of the firm took advantage of this opportunity to exact bribes from the workers if they did not want to have their names put down on the sacking list.

● According to the Western press, the Thieu-Ky-Huong clique sentenced on July 1, 22 people to various penalties ranging from hard-labour for life downward for "treason". Among the indicted was the director of the English-written paper "*Saigon Daily News*". A "deputy" of the (puppet) House of Representatives declared that it was a verdict "against all who favoured contacts with the Viet Congs". Some thought that by so saying this "deputy" had willy-nilly exposed the hypocrisy of Thieu's protestations of his desire to enter into talks with patriotic resistance members.

● A Congress was held in Saigon on July 6 by nearly 500 delegates of the Buddhist youth from 54 affiliated organisations set up in various South Viet Nam towns occupied by the enemy. Though looking askance at this meeting, the puppet authorities refrained from any open interference at least.

The ruling clique was sharply taken to task by the attendance. The war unleashed by the Americans and the imprisonment of Superior Bonze Thich Thien Minh were the topics which raised the strongest protests.

One of the speakers said, "The Viet Nam war does not concern the Vietnamese. It is a war of the Americans."

Remarkably enough, the conference was attended by many puppet "MPs".

● *CTK* agency reported from Washington that the Saigon puppet administration had confirmed a secret report of the puppet "Senate" according to which the monthly desertion rate in the puppet army was four times higher than that of last year. The average was put at 11,000 per month, a figure likely to increase everyday.

● According to *Giai Phong Press Agency*, the officers and men of Battalion 4, Regiment 50, puppet Infantry Division 25, stationed at Hau Nghia provincial capital, 35 km west-northwest of Saigon, collectively refused battle on June 10 last. A soldier of the battalion shot at the Military Police who wanted to interfere, causing 5 casualties among the wicked thugs.

Revolutionary People's Committees Set Up in Da Nang Town and 3 more Provinces

A Congress held by the Da Nang inhabitants in the liberated zone near the town has elected a 7-member Committee headed by Prof. Ho An alias Ho Hieu Dan, and with as one of its members, Mr. Duong Van Tiep, one of the leaders of the dissident forces opposing the Thieu-Ky clique in 1966.

Da Nang is the 5th major South Viet Nam city with a RPC.

Giai Phong Press Agency also reported that provincial RPCs were returned in the last week of June in three provinces, one in the Mekong delta covering the territory of the former provinces of Soc Trang and Bac Lieu; and the other two (including Bien Hoa) east of Saigon.

Pham Van Toi, a guerilla of An Tinh village
Pen and ink by **Co Tan Long Chau**